

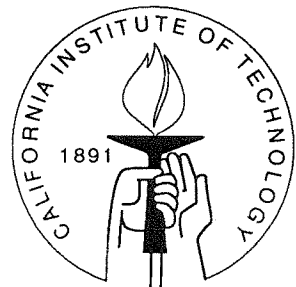
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ANNE WHARTON

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Abstract

Anne Wharton is Chapter XIII of my biography of Thomas Wharton, 5th Baron, 1st Earl, and 1st Marquess of Wharton (Tom Wharton to the English political world of the Glorious Revolution period). The story covers crucial episodes in Wharton's personal and political life. It deals with the health of his talented wife Anne, her affection for her uncle and mentor the Earl of Rochester, her sojourn in Paris in 1681, and Wharton's own brief visits there. On political themes the story covers the famous Oxford Parliament of March 1681—the turning point, as matters turned out, in the contest between Charles II and his Whig opponents, Tom Wharton's political allies.

I like to think that the narrative will be understandable and interesting to anyone who can read, though it will be most interesting to those who have read the preceding chapters and/or those who are already soaked in English political history. I have included the lists of abbreviations and short titles to help specialists follow me through the lengthy footnotes. The lists pertain to the whole book, not merely this chapter.

Anne Wharton

J. Kent Clark

The year 1680 had been unkind to Anne Wharton. It marked a further stage in her recurrent illnesses, and it prompted another journey in search of health—this time to Paris. Her previous journey, as we have noted, had occurred in the late spring and early summer of 1678. Then, she and Tom had left Winchendon and London for an extended stay in the area of Lavington, Wiltshire, where Anne and her sister owned three manors,¹ and in Salisbury. This sojourn caused Tom to miss the last two months of the 1678 parliamentary session, including some significant divisions.² It brought anxious inquiries from Lord Wharton, who was concerned about Anne, as well as the votes of the Commons. "I heartily wish to hear well concerning your wife's eyes," he wrote to Tom on 14 May at Lavington. "I hope the Lord will so restore her that she will not be against your coming up in this important session."³

Anne's health was not sufficiently restored to permit Tom's speedy return to the political wars. In early July, Tom and Anne were staying "at Mrs. Sambrooke's in the Close in Salisbury." There Lord Wharton wrote Tom to convey news about the expiring session and to ask about Anne. "I pray God," he wrote, "I may have good news of your wife's being well."⁴

Nothing in the scattered documents of the period explains the nature of the illness or tells why Anne and Tom chose Wiltshire as a place for Anne's recuperation.⁵ It is possible that Anne's health improved when she and Tom were away from the entanglements of London, and it is possible that the couple combined a rest-cure for Anne, away from the responsibilities of Chelsea and Winchendon, with an inspection of the Wiltshire estates, which were to be divided three years later between the Whartons and the Berties. In any case, the medical crisis seems to

have passed by the end of summer—in time for the melodramatics of the Popish Plot.

In the late spring of 1680 a new and serious complication was added to Anne's problems. On 11 May John Cary, the chief trustee of Anne's estate, reported "ill news" to his fellow trustee Sir Ralph Verney: "Mrs Wharton is very much troubled with convulsive fits. I saw her in a great one last night, which troubled me very much, and I fear will much weaken her."⁶ Three weeks later, Tom told Cary that Anne's condition had improved and that "her fits had much left her." Cary expressed the hope that Anne might "outgrow" her new affliction.⁷

Unfortunately, Anne, who was then approaching her twenty-first birthday, never entirely outgrew her "convulsive fits." The intervals between seizures were sometimes long—weeks or months—but the "fits" eventually returned.⁸ And in late November of 1680, she had a severe sore throat, "of which she like to have died" (as she told John Cary).⁹ Although she described herself in early December as "much better" and her fits as "lessened," it seemed logical that she should try a change of climate and physicians. She would try Paris when she felt well enough to travel and when Tom could find the time to take her. Since Tom was obliged to win another Bucks election, in early February, before he could accompany Anne to France and since he was honor bound to return by 21 March when the new Parliament was to meet at Oxford, there was no question of his remaining long abroad. He took Anne to Paris in late February or early March and returned to London on 19 March. The voyage from England to France, recollected in depression, produced one of Anne's finest and most melancholy poems: "On the Storm between Gravesend and Dieppe." At the time, however, the passage seems to have been reasonably cheerful, whatever the state of the weather. When Tom returned to England, he reported to his father's chaplain that Anne "bore her voyage very well" and that she had "not had a fit since she went."¹⁰

Once settled in Paris, Anne tried to avoid company as much as possible. On Easter Sunday she attended the Huguenot church at Charenton rather than the church at the English embassy—preferring, as she wrote Tom, to be with forty thousand strangers than with five hundred people she knew.¹¹ She could not avoid a visit from Henry Savile, the English Ambassador, or from Tom's former colleague John Hampden.¹² The "fat" Savile and the "lean" Hampden met each other for the first time at Anne's lodgings, and Hampden had begun "extremely to complain of the King's Ambassador" before Savile identified himself and thus deprived the amused Anne of hearing "an argument between famine and plenty."¹³ Anne was

"threatened mightily" with visits from other English aristocrats, but she let it be known that she would happily decline the honor. Without rudeness, which (as she explained) would not become Tom's "obedient wife and humble servant," she managed to keep most of her compatriots away.¹⁴

Anne had much to think about besides her health. The previous summer, on 26 July, she had lost her famous and talented uncle, John Wilmot, Earl of Rochester. To habitués of the Court, Rochester was the wittiest of the witty, the most dissolute of the dissolute, and the most charming of the charming. A Hobbesian materialist with a genius for satire, he poetically preached what he practiced—a defiance of traditional faith and morals, especially sexual morals. Rochester, who thrived on notoriety, seemed to embody the revolt against Puritanism. In his poses as more cynical, experienced, comical, obscene, and damned than thou—and certainly much cleverer—he delighted his Court friends, including the King, and scandalized the faithful. To the orthodox, his death at the age of thirty-three, probably from syphilis, was a sermon on the wages of sin—on the evils of wine, women, and boys. And his celebrated repentance during the last few weeks of his life¹⁵ was an example of how amazing grace could be. To many of his friends, in fact, his belated change of attitude seemed so implausible that they could hardly believe it was serious.

Anne, however, adored her charming and gifted uncle, who was only a year older than Tom. To her his untimely death was tragedy beyond tears. She poured forth her grief in a passionate elegy, designed to express her love and to convince an "insensible nation" that Rochester was good as well as great—a "lovely soul" who had earned immortality both earthly and heavenly. His flaming genius, Anne explained, had produced both wit and instruction for the age; he had "civilized the rude," taught the young, and "made fools grow wise." He had led Anne herself up the steep and sacred ascent to poetry, and he had attempted to guide her into "wisdom's way." True he had wandered from Christian precepts, proving that even a "matchless pattern" of humanity can err; but God had rescued him at last with the "mournful gift" of dying pains. These had evoked a penitence worthy of any saint and assured him of a place in the heavenly choir. Rochester's salvation, Anne said finally, consoled her for the loss of her earthly hopes, which had died with him. The thought of his immortality made her soar in spirit, anticipating the ecstasy of meeting him in heaven.¹⁶ Ironically enough, it was the death of Rochester which established Anne's reputation as a serious poet. Her elegy, circulated widely in manuscript, drew verses of praise from the venerable Edmund Waller, the most famous lyricist of the age. Waller may well have remained

unconvinced of Rochester's wisdom and he may have remained unmoved by the conventional piety of the elegy's conclusion; but he could not doubt the depth of Anne's grief nor the intensity of the expression. She had bestowed "lasting verse" upon her uncle in lines like his own and proved herself "allied in genius as in blood." Her duty now, Waller cautioned, was to take comfort lest she should waste in tears. As the inheritor of Rochester's "fair soul," she must not die herself.¹⁷

If any of Anne's contemporaries thought it strange that she should mourn her uncle in terms usually reserved for a lover, no one said so. When she declared that Rochester was the "pride" of her heart and the "cause of all [its] hopes and fears"—that her heart was dead without him—the sentiments could be readily ascribed to hero worship, Christian love, and poetic hyperbole. And if Tom was annoyed, or even slightly concerned, at having been removed by implication from Anne's pride, hopes, and fears, there is no record of his complaining.

Several years later, after Anne's death, her brother-in-law Goodwin gave a less spiritual explanation for her grief. Impelled by a revelation to confide to his journal-autobiography some details of his own odd and tortured love affair with Anne (who had appeared vividly in his dreams), Goodwin also felt obliged to reveal Anne's other lapses from sexual grace. There were three of these, he wrote—two brief and one protracted. She had been seduced "whilst mighty young" by the Earl of Peterborough, and for a short time in the early 1680s she did not "resist the addresses of Jack Howe." Meanwhile, she was "lain with long by her own uncle, my Lord Rochester."¹⁸

In general Goodwin is a remarkably trustworthy witness. As he records the details of his secret life, he is remorselessly truthful, relating episodes that might have embarrassed a twentieth-century psychiatrist. He is equally frank in describing the actions of others. Convinced that his life and opinions have great spiritual significance, Goodwin writes what he believes. There can be no doubt that he believed what he wrote about Anne or that he had opportunity to learn the facts from Anne herself during the months of their intimacy. Nor is there any doubt that Anne spent many hours with her uncle, both before and after her marriage to Tom. She had grown up at the Wilmot house in Adderbury, where her grandmother, the dowager Countess, continued to live with Rochester, and she made extended visits there without Tom.¹⁹ Again, it would not be surprising if Rochester, who was famous for not resisting temptation, should have seduced his bright and attractive niece. Finally, the fact that Anne would later offer to go to bed with her brother-in-law Goodwin (to commit incest, that is, in the doctrine of the time) suggests that she

may not have been deterred by religious scruples from a long affair with her father's half-brother.

In spite of Goodwin's great credibility as a witness and the antecedent possibilities of a sexual liaison between Anne and Rochester, there is at least a chance that in this case Goodwin was wrong. At the time he wrote the crucial passage in his journal, in late 1687, he had begun to receive divine revelations from an "inner voice"²⁰; and his revelations, though infallible in principle, sometimes proved questionable in practice. Goodwin does not say where he got his knowledge of Anne's affair with Rochester. It is possible that he received it from revelations rather than from Anne—that his voice, which had commanded him to describe his own affair with Anne, misinformed him about her earlier romance.²¹

Whether or not Rochester had been Anne's lover as well as her tutor and idol, his death helped to complete Anne's transformation from a sheltered young lady to a responsible adult—from the adolescent girl who had married Tom Wharton to the charming, mature woman who would write him letters from Paris. Some of the void left by Rochester's death, Anne filled with poetry. Left without a tutor, she took charge of her own career. After rendering her grief for her uncle into heroic couplets, she went on to other themes. By the time she arrived in Paris, she had made poetry an occupation rather than an occasional indulgence.²² She had also established the somber tone that informed her serious poems and worried her orthodox readers. She was on her way to acquiring what Goodwin would call a "desperateness and greatness" of spirit.²³

Meanwhile, between the death of Rochester and her journey to Paris, Anne carried on an increasingly serious flirtation with Goodwin. Goodwin, who had admired her for years, felt himself drawn towards a monstrous deed for which he would have hated himself for the rest of his life. He tried during his meetings with Anne to keep all his actions "abstracted from a lustful intention," and he prayed for divine help in resisting Anne's charms. He also took the precaution of leaving her "in the open street" after they met "at night."²⁴ He could not, however, resist the temptation to go on meeting her. In retrospect, at least, he was sure that her journey to Paris had helped to save their souls.

In Paris, distanced by time from Rochester's death and by space from the complications of London, Anne took the occasion to simplify her life and clarify her feelings. By avoiding English company as much as possible she also avoided much English news, which arrived by the post twice a week if the Channel weather was

good and at best came several days late. From Paris the political crisis that obsessed Tom and his Whig friends seemed remote. In three letters written to Tom before she heard the results of the famous Oxford Parliament, she devoted only one sentence to politics. She asked Tom to comment on a report that Danby would come to trial.²⁵ And when she finally learned, about ten days after the event, that Charles had dissolved the Parliament on 28 March before the Commons could pass another Exclusion Bill, she found it easy to be philosophical.

I hear your poor House of Commons were very roughly dealt with [she wrote]. They have no virtue left (that I know of) but patience to make use of, and they say that is the coward's virtue, but yet I hope they will practice it in their affliction—which I cannot be very sorry for, because I am the more likely to see you here. You see how political misfortunes bring private satisfactions.²⁶

Anne was much less philosophical about her feelings for Tom. If illness and isolation made politics an inconvenience that kept her husband in England, they also made her more conscious of her affection. She had grown "so fond a fool," she explained on 22 March, that she could not help sending Tom a letter every post whether she heard from him or not.²⁷ And on 10 April, after she had suffered a serious relapse, the fear that she might die without saying a last word to Tom made her write three days before the post left Paris for London; she resolved to write to him, she said, "lest [she] should never do it more." "Goodbye, my Dear, Best Dear," she concluded in her tentative farewell. "Pardon me that I say no more, for I am so very ill I can hardly hold the pen or know what I write."²⁸

Fortunately, Anne recovered. By the end of April she was allowed by her French physician to visit St. Germain, which she dismissed as not worth visiting, and by the middle of May she was permitted to go to Versailles on condition that she would stay home to be medicated a long time afterwards. Her physician kept her "long within doors" and "tried many practices," which included letting blood and substituting barley water and licorice for wine. She was not sure the medicines improved anything but her patience, but she continued to retain some confidence in her physician and she thought herself helped by the warming weather. When her physician advised that she should go "farther south," she agreed. She asked Tom if he could arrange his business so that his "obedient faithful humble servant" could go to Montpellier by the first of July.²⁹

In her early letters, Anne complained that Tom did not write. His silence, she said, with a touch of seriousness in her witty exaggeration, made her want to beat

her brains out on the sidewalk, thus relieving him of the inconvenience of a wife. Had Anne shared Tom's political anxieties, she might have found excuses for him. Tom's silence coincided with the climax—or anti-climax—of the Exclusionist drama. The clutter of events gave Tom a plausible explanation, and perhaps even a reason, for neglecting to write his wife in Paris.

When Tom arrived back in London on Saturday, 19 March, he had missed some of the preamble to the Oxford Parliament, which was due to convene the following Monday. He had missed at least a portion of the furious propaganda battle,³⁰ which had produced, among other pamphlets, Elkanah Settle's Whig diatribe *Character of a Popish Successor* and Thomas Ashendon's Tory blast *The Presbyterian Pater Noster, Creed and Ten Commandments*.³¹ He had also missed several numbers of two new periodicals, one Whig and one Tory, designed to influence the elections and to flay their political enemies.

The Whig paper, published by Francis Smith, was *Smith's Protestant Intelligence: Domestick and Foreign*. It appeared twice a week, beginning on 1 February, and it specialized in reporting Whig victories at the polls and the unsuccessful attempts of Tory candidates to delude "true Englishmen."³² It particularly rejoiced in the re-election of faithful Members of the Exclusion Parliaments—most of whom were duly returned.³³ Perhaps more importantly, it printed the instructions (thinly disguised as "addresses") that Whig voters in various counties and boroughs issued to the Members they elected.³⁴ These addresses, a new strategy in electoral warfare, told MPs that they were to insist upon Exclusion and to withhold supplies until Exclusion was granted; they were also to abolish the penal laws against Dissenters and safeguard the subject's right to petition for frequent parliaments. Besides prescribing a Whig agenda, the addresses by obvious implication pledged MPs not to accept any of the King's "expedients."³⁵ Like the petitions of 1679 and 1680, the new addresses (anything but spontaneous and obviously devised by Whig leaders) showed a high degree of organization; and like the petitions they were largely a propaganda exercise—to show the power and solidarity of the party. Good Whigs did not need addresses to persuade them to exclude the Duke of York or grant ease to Dissenters.

Interestingly, Tom Wharton and his new colleague, the veteran Richard Hampden, had not been addressed by the freeholders when they stood for election at Aylesbury on 2 February. This time the election at Aylesbury seems to have been completely undramatic—literally rather than technically uncontested.³⁶ Apparently, after the Tory fiascos of 1679, no Tory wanted to throw away his money

in opposing a Wharton and a Hampden, particularly when the senior Hampden was one of the leading members of the Commons.³⁷ The fact that the two men did not receive Whig addresses does not mean, however, that the election was too dull to exploit. It means that the Bucks election occurred before the address campaign was launched. Otherwise, though no one needed prompting less than Tom Wharton and Richard Hampden, they would have been addressed; and Smith's *Intelligence* (among other propaganda sheets) would have carried their instructions.³⁸

If the new Whig periodical concentrated largely upon Whig election victories, the new Tory periodical, which had fewer victories to report, concentrated largely upon the sins of the Dissenters and the unavowable ambitions of the Whigs. The title of the new publication was *Heraclitus Ridens*; the unacknowledged author was the versatile Thomas Flatman. Like its Whig rival, Laughing Heraclitus, with its dialogues "between Jest and Earnest," began publication on 1 February 1681.³⁹ Flatman, an order of magnitude wittier than his heavy-breathing Whig opponents, was expert in exploiting Whig weakness. He doubted, for instance, whether most Whig electors had heard or seen the addresses issued in their names. He accused the leading Whig pamphleteers, whom he dubbed "Doctors of Gotham College," of manufacturing hysteria. More generally, he rang the changes on the Tory theme that Exclusion and the Plot had become an attack upon the Church and the monarchy—a fanatic conspiracy to "pull the lawn sleeves down"⁴⁰ and bring back a Cromwellian-style republic. Flatman was so effective with what Whigs called his "popish poison" that Benjamin Harris, long-time publisher of *The Protestant (Domestick) Intelligence*, brought out a periodical "antidote." This publication, called *The Weekly Discoverer*, ran from 16 February until 23 March. It answered Flatman's "Queries" and stigmatized Flatman himself as a student of Loyola—the jesuitical tool of the popish plotters.⁴¹

While Tom was in France, he had also missed the first waves of the political migration to Oxford. The King, preceded by a contingent of the royal guards, had left Windsor early on 14 March. He had been joined at High Wycombe by the Queen, who had left from Westminster. The royal party had included (as Whig pamphleteers did not fail to point out) both Nell Gwynn and the Duchess of Portsmouth, the King's English and French mistresses.⁴² Charles was met "on the green at Wheatley," Oxfordshire, by the Lord Lieutenant (Tom's Tory brother-in-law Lord Norreys), the County militia, and a party of lords and gentlemen—all of whom accompanied the King to Oxford. There after a splendid and tumultuous welcome,

Charles and his entourage were settled in the colleges of Christ Church, Merton, and Corpus Christi.⁴³

The Whigs countered three days later with an impressive procession of their own. A thousand Londoners accompanied their four Whig MPs through St. James's to Hounslow Heath; a "great number" continued on to Colnbrook; and two hundred horsemen, wearing blue satin ribbons inscribed with the legend "No Popery, No Slavery," finished the journey to Oxford. This parade was followed next day by a sizable demonstration for the Earl of Shaftesbury, who was accompanied from London to Oxford by "a very great troop of persons of quality."⁴⁴ In Oxford Shaftesbury established his headquarters at the house of Dr. John Wallis, "directly over against" Hart Hall.⁴⁵

In January when the King had announced that the new Parliament would meet at Oxford, the Whigs had striven mightily to make him change his mind. Oxford had been the royalist capital during the Revolution; and the University, now purged of Dissenters, had become the heart of Anglican Toryism. London, on the other hand, was the center of Whig power. Good Whigs felt comfortable at Westminster, in the shadow of the metropolis, whether or not they hoped to overawe their opponents with popular demonstrations. At Oxford, far from friendly clubs and friendly militia, they felt less confident. There, they would meet under the surveillance of the King's horse and foot guards,⁴⁶ backed by the Oxfordshire militia with its Tory commanders. At Oxford there would be little chance of stampeding the House of Lords into agreeing with Whig Exclusion proposals and even less of browbeating Charles into disinheriting James. For this obvious reason, on 25 January Shaftesbury, Essex, and a group of Whig lords (not including Lord Wharton) had presented Charles with an elaborate petition, proving by many historical examples how unwise it was to move parliaments from the capital and asking him to meet his new Parliament in Westminster. And for the same obvious reason, Charles rejected the petition out of hand.

In attempting to neutralize the royalist atmosphere at Oxford, the Whigs had one advantage of their own. The town, as opposed to the University, was solidly Whig. It had elected two Exclusionists, Brome Whorwood and Alderman William Wright, to the new Parliament, and if the citizens did not receive Whig notables as ecstatically as Oxford dons and students received the King, they served as a reminder that the University was not England. The country, after all, had returned a large Whig majority.⁴⁷

One of the Whig stratagems for countering the King's measures turned out to be a monumental blunder. In their propaganda, the Whigs had attempted to convince the nation and themselves that the royal guards were a threat—heavily laced with papists, Protestants in masquerade, and mercenaries loyal to the Duke of York. They professed to be fearful that the Parliament at Oxford might be purged or dissolved by the Duke's henchmen. This politic fear they dramatized by arming the parties of Whig MPs and peers that journeyed to Oxford. Shaftesbury's company of "well-mounted" gentlemen, for example, was accompanied by servants armed with carbines. Some individual Members armed their coaches "with carbines and musquetoons."⁴⁸ This propaganda gesture turned out to be transparently futile and needlessly provocative. Miscellaneous parties of armed retainers could not seriously oppose the disciplined troops at the disposal of the King if Charles really intended to remove his opponents by force. What they could and did do was to heighten the mounting fears that the Whigs might resort to insurrection—that 1641 might come again. With their armed guards the Whigs handed their enemies an advantage which Tory propagandists were happy to exploit; they also impelled Tory grandees⁴⁹ to bring armed retainers of their own—helping, incidentally, to further overcrowd an already overcrowded city.

When Tom returned to London on Saturday, 19 March, he was too late to see his father there. Earlier in the week Lord Wharton had set off for Oxford by way of Pusey,⁵⁰ the home of his widowed daughter Margaret. Lord Wharton, like Tom, had been provident in arranging for lodgings at Oxford. In late January he had declined Thomas Gilbert's offer to furnish him with rooms at Hart Hall, near Shaftesbury's quarters, and had chosen to live instead at Balliol in accommodations furnished by Richard Greaves. Tom had also arranged for lodgings at Balliol, which became a center for Whig leaders. His rooms there were provided by his protegee Henry Hibbins, soon to be rector at Waddesdon.⁵¹ He now intended, as he told William Taylor, to set out for Oxford himself on 21 March, and he promised to carry a letter to his father from Lady Wharton.⁵²

One final event that Tom had missed during his journey home from Paris was the most important race meeting of the spring season. In this year of crisis, the King had transferred the regular Newmarket races to Burford, near Oxford, and provided the royal plate for the winner of the "twelve stone heats," which took place on Thursday, 17 March.⁵³ These heats, as the name implies, were a series of races weighted for gentlemen riders (who were apt to weigh a good deal more than professional jockeys). The format called for three heats and a final run-off if no horse won two of the three heats. On 17 March there were four horses in the

contest—perhaps the fastest in the kingdom. In the presence of the King and a swarm of courtiers who had come over from Oxford to watch the races, Tom's "famous black gelding" lost the first heat to "Mr. Gristin's roan," which then went on to defeat Bullethead, the favorite, in the second heat and win the King's "silver salvers" outright.⁵⁴ Whether Tom could have ridden his gelding any better himself or whether he would have contested the second heat instead of waiting, vainly, for a third heat can never be known; but he cannot have been pleased with his defeat in absentia. It might have served as a pattern for the frustrations that were to follow.

When Tom set off for Oxford on 21 March, perhaps in the company of Monmouth,⁵⁵ he did not know that except for purposes of propaganda the new Parliament had become irrelevant. He was riding towards an early dissolution. There were two reasons for this state of affairs, one public and one secret. The public reason was the completeness of the Whig triumph in the elections. The King's efforts to get a majority or a competitive minority in the Commons had failed. The Opposition veterans who had already passed two Exclusion Bills were strong beyond compromise. They might be polite enough to listen to one more expedient—a proposal that Princess Mary should be made regent and her father left with an empty title—but they could not be persuaded to vote for it. Nor would they vote any supplies until the Lords and the King had agreed, finally, to pass an Exclusion Bill.

The secret reason was a subsidy from Louis XIV. Between the time of Tom's election and his return to England, Louis had decided that Charles had suffered enough for his duplicity and that he was desperate enough to abide by a secret treaty which obliged him not to aid the enemies of France.⁵⁶ The time had come once more, Louis perceived, to neutralize England by bribing the King instead of the Opposition. In the process, he might also save the monarchy. Although the sums involved were less than princely—roughly £160,000 for the first year and £40,000 per year thereafter—they were sufficient to rescue Charles from his subjects. He could survive without a Parliament.

Charles began his propaganda battle at Oxford by appropriating Whig rhetoric. He had dismissed the last House of Commons, he said in his opening speech, for its resort to "arbitrary government"—its attempt to wrest power away from the Lords and the Crown. He was determined to protect the "liberty of the subject," and he was convinced that neither "liberty nor properties can subsist long when the just rights and prerogatives of the Crown are invaded." After giving a Tory twist to Whig shibboleths, he continued by recommending "the further prosecution of the

Plot, the trial of the Lords in the Tower,...and the ridding ourselves quite of all that party that have any considerable authority and interest among them." He warned, however, that fears of popery must not be used as "a pretence for changing the foundations of the government"; nor should the Parliament be wedded inflexibly "to any one expedient against popery" (that is to say, Exclusion).

Having pictured himself as the true protector of liberty and property and at least as anti-popish as his Whig opponents, he then went on to imply that he was at once more flexible and more devoted to fundamental English law than the single-minded Exclusionists. Although he could never agree to altering the succession, he was willing to consider an expedient for keeping the administration of government in Protestant hands in case a papist came to the throne. (He was willing, in other words, to consider a regency).⁵⁷ Finally, he admonished his Lords and Commons to guide themselves by "the established laws of the land," which he was resolved to follow himself.⁵⁸

If Charles had intended to sway the Commons, his neatly constructed speech would have been wasted. The Whigs, with their unassailable majority, were indeed wedded to Exclusion, and they considered all other expedients, including a regency, as popish subterfuges or woolly headed evasions of a life-and-death issue. But Charles and his advisors aimed at a much wider audience; they were taking up positions from which they and their supporters could launch a counterattack. In a sense the King's speech of 21 March, along with the declaration of 8 April by which Charles justified dissolution, marks the effective beginning of the Tory reaction. It was easy for nervous Englishmen to rally round the royal defender of "the established laws of the land," and "the Church by law established."

The Whig offensive was necessarily brief—even briefer than pessimistic Members had suspected. It was Thursday, 24 March, before the Commons had dispatched the preliminaries and settled down in the Convocation House to conduct business. By that time, less than three and a half days remained of a session that would come to an abrupt end at ten o'clock the following Monday morning. Only the fact that the well-organized Whigs had their agenda clearly in mind enabled them to launch some telling propaganda of their own in the hours at their disposal.

Perfectly aware that they were engaged in a battle for public opinion, the Whig majority in the Commons began their campaign by passing a resolution that the debates should be printed. They would not allow the arguments by which they answered the King's speech writers and attacked their Tory rivals to go unreported,

or misreported. They would not allow themselves to be shown as factious, irresponsible zealots bent on destroying the monarchy. They would show themselves to be the real defenders of the traditional constitution, which was threatened by popish absolutism, not by popular factions. The people, the Whigs argued, could be trusted with parliamentary debates.⁵⁹

The Whigs did not derive much immediate propaganda value out of the debate over Exclusion. Their past successes made the preliminaries routine, and in general the arguments had become predictable. On Saturday afternoon when they carried a resolution for bringing in another Exclusion Bill, no one was surprised, and the Tories did not venture a division. For the career of Tom Wharton, nevertheless, and for the future history of England the events of 26 March were significant. Tom was appointed to the prestigious committee—an honor roll of Whig stalwarts—which was charged with drawing up the Bill. This assignment, his most important up to that time, marked him as a leader of the party.⁶⁰ One part of the debate, moreover, a skirmish over the regency scheme, became important eight years later.

The regency debate of 1681 eventually proved to be a prologue to the regency debates in the Convention Parliament of 1689, after James, as James II, had fled the kingdom and desperate Tories were trying to save at least a shadow of divine hereditary right. Then Tom Wharton, as a leader of the triumphant Whig majority, would insist that the throne had become vacant and that a regency, with Mary and William as regents, was not a viable form of government. Now at Oxford speakers like Sir Francis Winnington, Sir William Jones, and Sir William Pulteney pointed out some of the obvious flaws in the scheme.

A system which conceded James's right to the crown but vested all executive power in a regent, Pulteney argued, "must be to have two Kings at the same time, one by law and the other by right"; it "let the Duke in" and then made a question "whether allegiance is due him or not."⁶¹ Exclusion, the Whigs admitted, had its dangers. Quite possibly an excluded and exiled heir might return with an army to fight for the crown; but regency, Sir William Jones pointed out, was more dangerous still. There was little chance that an exiled "King" would be satisfied with a mere title; and the official recognition of his "right" would confuse Englishmen and make it easier for him to find support abroad. "If there must be an army to maintain the Bill of Exclusion," Jones said, "there must be four armies to maintain the Expedient."⁶² Besides being dangerous, Whigs argued, the regency scheme entailed a legal mare's nest. The laws and appointments of a regency would be made in the

name of a "King" who would actually oppose most of them.⁶³ To exclude the Duke, Whig lawyers contended, would be legally much simpler and less damaging to the traditional constitution than to maintain an intricate and possibly endless series of fictions.

On Monday morning, 28 March, all arguments, Whig and Tory, came to an abrupt halt. Whig MPs had brought in their Exclusion Bill, given it its first reading, and scheduled its second reading for the next day when the Commons were summoned to the House of Lords. The King explained curtly to the Lords and Commons that their "divisions" had removed any chance of a productive session; and the Lord Chancellor, following the King's orders, informed them that the Parliament was dissolved.⁶⁴ As Barrillon wrote in triumph to Louis XIV the same day, the Parliament had been broken up ("*cassé*").⁶⁵

Parliament was indeed *cassé*. Charles would heatedly deny in his Declaration of 8 April that he intended to rule without parliaments. He loved parliaments, he said, and he was resolved to call frequent sessions. The charge that he intended to "lay aside the use of parliaments" was malicious poison spread by "ill men," enemies of the Established Church and the Monarchy.⁶⁶ But the ill men turned out to be exactly right. For the balance of his reign, almost four years, Charles would quietly collect his subsidies from Louis and avoid the risk of assembling men who might attack his brother, impeach his ministers, and try to dictate his policies. Meanwhile his never-kept promises to hold frequent parliaments and to extirpate popery kept his opponents off balance and helped him rally support for what soon became the Tory reaction.

All this lay in the future, of course. When Whig MPs rode away from Oxford, they knew, in Anne Wharton's phrase, that they had been "very roughly dealt with," but they did not yet know the extent of their injuries. By dispensing with parliaments, Charles had deprived his opponents of a national forum and had fragmented English politics. Hereafter, the decisive battles would be fought piecemeal in law courts, cities, and boroughs, with the government on the attack and its opponents on the defensive. Though Whig pamphlets, squibs, and poems continued to appear, including a remarkably cogent reply to the King's Declaration,⁶⁷ and although Whig gentlemen held their own in tavern arguments (and sometimes on dueling fields), there was a certain futility in Whig maneuvers. Ultimately it did not matter how many progresses the Duke of Monmouth staged or how many horse races Tom Wharton won against Tory rivals; the machinery of

government was firmly in the hands of the King. Nothing short of a revolution could dislodge it.

Unaware that the political tide was turning and that he was being reduced from a rising power in the House of Commons to a wealthy gentleman with a racing stable, Tom Wharton had many things besides politics to think about when he returned to London and Winchendon. One of these was the division of property between the Whartons and the Berties—the final settlement of Anne's and Eleanora's extensive inheritance. Anne had come of age on 20 July 1680 and her sister a year earlier. On 24 June 1680, the trustees of their estates (including John Cary and Sir Ralph Verney) had met with Tom Wharton and Lord Norreys at the Bertie home at Rycote⁶⁸ to reach preliminary agreements on the division.⁶⁹ They hoped that by the time of Anne's birthday they could have the work virtually completed and be ready to divest themselves of their responsibilities.

But the business of dividing equitably a great number of manors and miscellaneous properties, re-assigning a multitude of leases, and drawing up the necessary legal documents was complex and intricate. The agreements were not made official by the Court of Common Pleas until Trinity Term 1681 (beginning 3 June),⁷⁰ and some of the resultant documents required Anne's signature. Anne, of course, was in France, and since she intended to go to Montpellier rather than returning home, Tom set off for Paris in early June bearing the "writings."⁷¹ He had long since resumed his crisis-interrupted correspondence, and he had been careful to supply Anne with money for her sojourn.⁷² He had also ordered his business, as Anne had requested, so that she could leave for Montpellier by July 1, though he hoped from what seemed to be the improved state of her health that she could be persuaded to return home.

The brief reunion between Tom and Anne at "L'Hostel de Savoye dans la grande rue Tarane" brought an odd crisis of its own. The legal matters were easily dispatched, except for one "business" which Anne promised to complete and send Tom by the next post. The emotional tangle was much more stubborn. In April when Anne thought she might be dying and Tom was in distant England, she had found it easy to express love in a letter. But in June with Tom near Anne was conscious of a distance between them, and she found it difficult to express anything. Tom, who had hoped that he could take Anne back with him and that he could rekindle old affections, found himself baffled. In the language of a later time, he and his wife were wretchedly out of phase. Much of this Anne tried to explain to herself and Tom in a letter of 22 June/2 July,⁷³ the day after Tom left for England:

I was yesterday (at parting with you) in more trouble than I either did, or was willing to show, but methinks it looks less like hypocrisy to tell it at this distance, & therefore I would have you now believe it. I knew not what I thought for a quarter of an hour & could not answer to anything you said; give me leave therefore to do it now. When I said I had a mind to go to Montpelier, you said you loved nothing so well as me. If I thought that, I should be in England (if possible) tomorrow; but though I should, you can't upon consideration desire it. You may plainly find what good this moderate degree of heat has done me & may reasonably believe from thence that since I am not yet perfectly recovered, the cold of the winter will force me to relapse in any place less warm than that to which I design to go, & for these reasons I do not think you will be against it; for I am not yet melancholy enough to believe you would be pleased with my eternal sickness, much less with the death of

Your obedient humble servant

Anne Wharton

Tom returned to England from the domestic drama in France in time to witness several stages of the political drama at home—developments, that is, in the King's counterattack against the Whigs. Among the most significant of these were the continuing spate of loyal addresses triggered by the proclamation of April 8,⁷⁴ the arrest of Shaftesbury on a trumped-up charge of treason, and the executions of the would-be Plot informer Edward Fitzharris and the incendiary "Protestant Joiner" Stephen College. Tom also returned home in time to make a splashy contribution to the fading Whig cause. In late August he entertained the Duke of Monmouth, Lord Lovelace, and a "great deal of company" at a three-day race meeting at Quainton. There, appropriately, he won the feature race himself.⁷⁵ It was one of his few victories in a year of frustrations.

In the end, most of Tom's political defeats proved to be retrievable. Many of them would be reversed by the Revolution of 1688 and many more by the Protestant Succession in 1714. His personal defeats were apt to be more permanent—including the impasse at Paris in 1681. No document remains to explain his response to the experience or to Anne's letter. Even the fact that he kept the letter is ambiguous. Perhaps it was too important and too poignant to throw away—eventually a keepsake from his first marriage. Perhaps it was merely filed and forgotten. Whatever Tom's original response, he could not have dreamed that the letter

would survive for centuries and that it would immortalize the not-quite bridgeable gulf between him and his talented wife.

Notes

1. In the Lavington area, Swanborough Hundred, Anne and Eleanora owned the manors of Market Lavington, Marden, and Rushell. The first two were allocated to Eleanora in the property division of 1681 and the third to Anne. VCH, *Wiltshire*, x (1975), 88, 121, 139.
2. See ch. VIII, pp. 23-28.
3. Carte 228, fol. 95. Dated London, 14 May 1678, the letter was received by Tom in Lavington on 24 May.
4. Lord Wharton to Tom Wharton, 6 July 1678, Carte 228, fol. 143.
5. When I first read the passage about Anne's eyes, I was inclined to suspect syphilis, since eye problems are one of the effects of the disease, which was endemic in Court circles and which may well have killed Anne's beloved uncle the Earl of Rochester. (See Jeremy Treglown's analysis in his edition of *The Letters of John Wilmot, Earl of Rochester*, Chicago, 1980, pp. 33-36.) On second thought, however, I tentatively ruled out that disease on the basis of the treatments, the evidence supplied by Goodwin, and Anne's letters to Tom from Paris. Here, perhaps it is sufficient to say that I have never heard of anyone going to Lavington or Salisbury to be cured of the pox.
6. John Cary to Sir Ralph Verney, 11 May 1680, BL Verney, M 636/34.
7. John Cary to Sir Ralph Verney, 8 June 1680, BL, Verney, M 636/34.
8. Two years later, on 11 July 1682, Cary reported to Sir Ralph Verney, "Mrs Whartons eyes I think are very well, but she is not quit of her fitts, those do give her som unwellcom visits still." Verney, BL, M 363/36. That the "convulsive fits" continued until the end is shown by a letter of 6 Sept. 1685, a few weeks before Anne's death (on 29 Oct.). Writing to his son John, Sir Ralph explains that Anne is "extremely ill" and that "yesterday she lay in greate payne and convultions." Verney, BL M 636/40.
9. John Cary to Sir Ralph Verney, 1 Dec. 1680, BL, Verney, M 636/34.
10. William Taylor to Lord Wharton, 19 Mar. 1681, Rawlinson 53, fol. 348.
11. Anne Wharton to Tom Wharton, 29 Mar./8 Apr. 1681, BL, Add. MS 4162, fol 234.

12. Like Anne, John Hampden had gone to Paris for his health—to be treated (according to publisher Benjamin Harris) for "a deep consumption." *The Protestant (Domestick) Intelligence*, No. 95 (9 Feb. 1681). His illness kept him from standing with Tom for re-election as Knight of the Shire; his father, Richard Hampden, stood in his stead. On 4 Feb. 1681 Francis Smith printed a report that "Hampden the younger" had died—only to retract the rumor four days later and announce that young Hampden was "in an hopeful way of recovery." *Smith's Protestant Intelligence: Domestick and Foreign* (London, 1681), Nos. 2, 3. In a letter to Tom written on 22 Mar./1 April 1681, Anne reports Hampden "much recovered" and seemingly "much troubled" that Tom had not taken time to find him while Tom was in Paris. BL, Add. MS. 4182, fol. 232.

13. Anne Wharton to Tom Wharton, 22 Mar./1 Apr. 1681, BL, Add. MS 4162, fol. 232.

14. Anne Wharton to Tom Wharton, 29 Mar./8 Apr. 1681, BL, Add. MS 4162, fol. 234.

15. The most famous account of Rochester's transformation from a sinner to a penitent is that of Gilbert Burnet, who sometimes attended Rochester during the Earl's last illness. See Burnet's *Some Reflections on the Life and Death of the Right Honourable John Earl of Rochester* (London, 1680). See also "Five Letters of Ann[e] Countess dowager of Rochester, wrote...to her sister-in-law [Johanna], lady St. John, giving an account of her son's behaviour during his sickness...." (The first two, obviously written in early June 1680 are undated; the last three are dated 19 June, 26 June, and 2 July 1680.) BL, Add. MSS 6269, fols. 33-37. For testimony more disinterested than that of Rochester's mother and an attendant clergyman, see the letter of John Cary (who conducted business for the Rochesters) to Sir Ralph Verney, 1 June 1680. "I much feare," Cary wrote, "my Lord Rochester hath not long to live, he is heare at his lodg [at Woodstock] & his mother my Lady dowager & his lady are with him and doctor Short of London & doctor Radcliffe of Oxon. Himselfe is very weake. ... he is growne to be the most altered P[er]son, the most devout & pious P[er]son as generally I ever knew & certainly would make a most worthy brave man if it would please God to spare his life but I feare the worst." BL, M 636/34.

16. "Elegy on the Earl of Rochester," *Examen Miscellaneum*, ed. Bernard Lintot (London, 1702), pp. 15-19.

17. "Of an Elegy Made by Mrs. Wharton on the Earl of Rochester," in *The Poems of Edmund Waller*, ed. G. Thorn Drury, 2nd ed. (1901), ii, 89. Bernard Lintot published Waller's commendatory verses, as well as commendatory verses by Jack Howe, along with Anne's poem in *Examen Miscellaneum* (London, 1702), pp. 19-21.

18. Autobiography, i, 308.

19. She was there, for instance, in February 1679, while Tom was winning the county election at Aylesbury. John Cary to Sir Ralph Verney, 10 Feb. 1679, BL, Verney, M 636/32.

20. See *Goodwin Wharton*, pp. 176-185.

21. Goodwin had promised Anne to keep their affair secret, and at her bidding he had destroyed the diary in which he recorded the events as they happened. It was not until his inner voice commanded him to break his promise and confess everything that he confided his and Anne's secrets to his later (still extant) journal. *Goodwin Wharton*, pp. 14-15.

22. During her first month in Paris, between 21 March and 2 April, Anne paraphrased in poetry chapters 1 to 5 in the book of Jeremiah. George Ballard, *Memoirs of Several Ladies of Great Britain....* (Oxford, 1752), p. 297. For the complete text, see *The Poetical Works of Philip the Late Duke of Wharton* (London, 1731?) ii, 64-92. A note (ii, 64) erroneously states that the poem was composed before Anne was married.

23. Autobiography, i, 308.

24. Autobiography, i, 308.

25. Anne Wharton to Tom Wharton, 4/14 Apr. 1681, Lonsdale, D/Lons/L1/4.

26. Anne Wharton to Tom Wharton, 10/20 Apr. 1681, Lonsdale, D/Lons/L1/4. I have normalized Anne's idiosyncratic spelling and punctuation.

27. Anne Wharton to Tom Wharton, 22 Mar./1 Apr. 181, BL, Add. MSS 4162, fol. 232. Seven of Anne's letters to Tom have survived—two in the BL (Add. MS 4162, fols. 232, 234) and five in the Cumbria RO at Carlisle in the Lonsdale MSS (D/Lons/L1/4). The letters (which begin on 22 Mar. and end on 22 June 1681, Old Style) are invaluable, of course, not only for what they tell about Anne and Tom but also for the establishment of dates. (They prove, among other things, that Burnet's

letter to Anne which is dated 14 July 1681 in Granger's *Letters* should be dated 1682.) I did not know of the five letters at Carlisle when I wrote Goodwin's life. Relying upon secondary sources and the first two letters, I misdated Anne's sojourn in France. She was not in France in December of 1680, as Carswell (*Old Cause*, p. 57) says, and she did not return by "early summer," as I mistakenly wrote (*Goodwin Wharton*, p. 13).

28. Anne Wharton to Tom Wharton, 10/20 Apr. 1681, Lonsdale, D/Lons/L1/.

29. Anne Wharton to Tom Wharton, 15 May 1681, Lonsdale, D/Lons/L1/4.

30. The propaganda battles in the interval between the dissolution of 18 Jan. 1681 and the Oxford Parliament were, of course, a continuation of the complex literary war of the Exclusionist period—a war which included republication of earlier books and pamphlets. For an analysis of republication strategies and the attempt to develop a "trimmer" position between extremes of Whig and Tory, see N. von Maltzahn, "Republication in the Restoration: Some Trimming Pleas for Limited Monarchy, 1660/1680," *HLQ*, lvi, No. 3 (Summer 1993), 281-305. Von Maltzahn's notes provide an extensive and useful bibliography of recent scholarship on political writings between the Restoration and the Revolution of 1688. For a still-valuable analysis of Whig propaganda, see O. W. Furley, "The Whig Exclusionists: Pamphlet Literature in the Exclusion Campaign," *Cambridge Historical Journal*, xiii (1957), 19-36. See also James Rees Jones, *The First Whigs*, pp.157-161.

31. [Elkanah Settle], *Character of a Popish Successour, and what England may expect from such a One. Humbly offered to the Consideration of Both Houses of Parliament, Appointed to meet at Oxford, On the One and twentieth of March, 1681* (London, 1681). [Thomas Ashendon], *The Presbyterian Pater Noster, Creed, and Ten Commandments* (London, [1681]).

32. In issue No. 3, 4-8 Feb. 1681, Smith announces the election [on 2 Feb.] of Tom Wharton and Richard Hampden for the County of Buckinghamshire. In issue No. 5, 11-15 Feb., he prints an advertisement for [Settle's] *Character of a Popish Successour*; and in No. 8, 21-24 Feb., he advertises [Henry Neville's translation of] *The Works of the Famous Nicholas Machiavel*, which includes Neville's letter (disguised as Machiavelli's letter) defending Neville's advocacy of limited monarchy and balanced government. (For the mistaken allegation that Tom Wharton added a passage to a later edition of Neville's apology, see below, ch.) The "Machiavel" had been first published in 1675. Smith advertises an edition published in 1680 [81?].

33. For the success of the Whigs in the election campaign, see *HC, 1660-90*, i, 39; *Shaftesbury*, p. 626.

34. For an extended account of the "addresses of instructions" and the local variations upon the central themes, see James Rees Jones, *The First Whigs*, 167-173.

35. The addresses carefully refrained from dividing the party by specifying who would replace James in the succession.

36. Writing to his steward William Coleman on 27 Jan., Sir Ralph Verney says: "I wish all my friends would give their Voyces for Mr Wharton, & old Mr Hampden, and soe say openly.... I verily beeleeve they will have it without opposition or any charge, & soe tis fit they should." BL, Verney, M 636/35. Sir Richard Temple, writing to Sir Ralph on 3 Feb., the day after the County election at Aylesbury, says nothing about a contest. He only complains that "Whartons gang" has attempted (unsuccessfully) to persuade the High Sheriff to give the precept for the upcoming election at Buckingham to Temple's enemy Sir John Busby. Sir Ralph, who has agreed to stand with Temple at Buckingham, assures Temple in a letter of 7 Feb. that neither Tom Wharton nor the Duke of Buckingham will intervene in the borough election. BL, Verney, M 636/35; HEH MS, STT 2450..

37. The voters of Bucks might have been less enthusiastic about Richard Hampden had they known that he had just received five hundred guineas from Barrillon—given as promised because Parliament, in the last session, had not voted Charles II any money to sustain the alliance against France. Barrillon to Louis XIV, 3/13 Feb. 1681, Baschet, PRO 31/3/148, fol. 48.

38. The first of the classic addresses was that of London, 4 Feb. 1681 (two days after the election at Aylesbury). *Vox Patriae*.... (London, 1681), p. 8. The first provincial address printed by Smith is that for the election at Chichester, 10 Feb. 1681. *Smith's Protestant Intelligence*, No. 5 (12-16 Feb. 1681).

39. [Thomas Flatman], *Heraclitus Ridens: At A Discourse between Jest and Earnest, concerning the Times* (London, 1 Feb. 1681-22 Aug. 1682), 82 numbers, printed weekly by B[enjamin] T[ooke]. The expanded title of the first number, later modified as above, indicates Flatman's Tory position: *Or A Discourse between Jest and Earnest, where many a True Word is spoken in opposition to all Libellers against the Government*. The versatile Flatman was a poet and painter, as well as a Tory propagandist. His miniature of Tom Wharton, painted c. 1685, is now at HEH.

40. *Heraclitus Ridens*, No. 3 (15 Feb. 1681).

41. See, *The Weekly Discoverer Strip'd Naked: Or, Jest and Earnest Expos'd to Publick View in his Proper Colours*, Nos. 1-6 (London, 16 Feb. to 23 Mar. 1681). Printed for Benjamin Harris.

42. Francis Smith notes, with apparent satisfaction, that the French Duchess was forced to remain in Wycombe until her coach, which had broken down there, could be repaired with a new axletree. Nell Gwynn, as became an English mistress, distributed money to the bell ringers and the poor of Beaconsfield and Wycombe. *Smith's Protestant Intelligence*, No 14 (14-17 Mar. 1681). The anonymous Whig author of *The Protestant Oxford Intelligence* alleges, however, that in Maidenhead Madam Gwynn's coach ran over a six-year-old child and killed it instantly. *The Protestant Oxford Intelligence, Or, Occurrences Forraign and Domestic*, No. 4 ([London], 17-21 Mar. 1681). Naturally, the government newspaper which describes the King's journey makes no mention of mistresses. *London Gazette*, No. 1599, 14-17 Mar. 1681.

43. For the government's housing arrangements, see *CSPD*, xxii (1680-81) 143-44. For the King's entry into Oxford and his entertainment there, see Wood, ii, 524-29. Anthony Wood, a fervent Tory, describes the quasi-delirious royalist welcome in vivid detail. Whig writers did not fail to mention that the Queen stayed at Merton and the King at Christ Church.

44. *Smith's Protestant Intelligence*, No. 15 (17-21 Mar. 1681). Another account says that Shaftesbury was "attended by about Two Hundred Persons well Armed and Mounted." *The Protestant Oxford Intelligence...*, No. 4, 17-21 Mar. 1681. See also, *Shaftesbury*, p. 632.

45. Thomas Gilbert to Lord Wharton, 19 Jan. 1680/81. Rawlinson 53, fol. 336.

46. The horse guards, says Wood, were quartered at inns "in the heart of the citie" and the foot guards in the "out-parishes." The "buff-coated" troops of Oxfordshire militia that accompanied the King into town were commanded by Sir Thomas Spencer and Henry Bertie (brother of Lord Norreys). Wood, ii, 524, 526, 530.

47. According to *HC 1660-90*, i, 53, the "Opposition" [Whig] party won 62 percent of the seats and their "Court" [Tory] rivals only 38 percent.
48. *Smith's Protestant Intelligence*, No. 15 (17-21 Mar. 1681).
49. Lord Chancellor Finch, for example, was accompanied by about fifty well-armed men on horseback. *Smith's Protestant Intelligence*, N. 15 (17-21 Mar. 1681).
50. Thomas Gilbert to Lord Wharton, 12 Mar. 1680/1, Rawlinson 53, fol. 342.
51. Thomas Gilbert to Lord Wharton, 5 Feb. 1680/1, Rawlinson 53, fol. 339. J. F. Trevallyn Jones suggests (*Sawpit Wharton*, p. 248) that in rejecting Gilbert's arrangements at Hart Hall (as in failing to sign the Whig petition) Lord Wharton may have been trying to distance himself from Shaftesbury. In fact, however, Shaftesbury himself was interested in establishing Balliol as a center for Whig leaders. He instructed Locke to help make arrangements there. Bodleian, Locke MSS, c. 7, fol. 76; J. R. Jones, *The First Whigs*, p. 166. Monmouth was offered quarters at Balliol, but he chose to stay with Alderman William Wright "in Canditch." Wood, ii, 531.
52. William Taylor [in London] to Lord Wharton [in Oxford], 19 March 1680/81, Rawlinson 53, fol. 348.
53. The race was announced in the *London Gazette*, No. 1591, 14-17 Feb. 1691: "These are to give notice, that the Plate the King did use to give every Spring at the Twelve Stone Heats at Newmarket, will be run for this year at Burford Heats the 17th day of March next, by the same Articles it used to be at Newmarket."
54. Colonel Edward Cooke to Ormonde, 24 Mar. 1681, HMC, *Ormonde*, N. S., v, 618. Cooke does not say who rode the "famous black gelding of Mr. Wharton's."
55. Monmouth, "with several other noble Peers," first arrived at Oxford on 13 March. After attending the races at Burford and returning to London, he set out again for Oxford on 21 March, accompanied by "a very great Train" He arrived in Oxford about ten the next morning—in time to attend at least some of the morning session of the Lords. *The Protestant Oxford Intelligence*, Nos. 3, 5 (14-17, 21-24 Mar. 1681); Sir William Temple to the Earl of Conway, 15 Mar. 1681, CSPD, xx (1680-81), 212; HLJ, ix, 747.

56. This time the French treaty, which obliged Charles to squirm out of a treaty to defend the Spanish Netherlands, was entirely verbal. Trusting political pressures rather than signed documents, Louis was convinced that Charles, having entered into a secret engagement, would do nothing against French interests. Barrillon to Louis XIV, 4/14 Mar. 1681, Baschet, PRO, PRO 30/3/148, fols. 82-86. For the financial negotiations between Barrillon and Laurence Hyde, see also Barrillon's letter to Louis of 17/27 Mar. 1681, fols. 87- 90 Only Louis, Barrillon, Charles, James, and Hyde knew of the existence of the new French subsidies.

57. Haley points out that Charles was perfectly safe in offering a regency scheme, since there was no chance that the Whig majority would accept it. *Shaftesbury*, p. 633. He could at once placate the Prince of Orange, conciliate moderate MPs, and give the appearance of flexibility.

58. *HLJ*, ix, 745-46. Charles may have implied that the laws of the land included inalienable hereditary right, but he had no need to say so. The traditional law demanded the assent of the Lords and the King to any act of Parliament, His majority in the Lords and his own immovable opposition were enough to insure the legal rejection of Exclusion.

59. "The weight of *England* is the people," said Sir William Cowper, "and the World will find, that they will sink Popery at last." Grey, viii, 293.

60. *HCI*, ix, 711. Tom was also appointed to the Committee on Elections and Privileges.

61. Grey, viii, 316.

62. Grey, viii, 322.

63. Grey, viii, 331.

64. *HLJ*, xiii, 757. It is important to note that the Parliament was not prorogued, but dissolved, and that Charles took the action without consulting his Privy Council.

65. Barrillon to Louis XIV, 28 Mar./7 Apr. 1681, Baschet, PRO 31/3/48, fol. 101.

66. *His Majesties Declaration To all His Loving Subjects, Touching the Causes & Reasons That moved him to Dissolve the Two last Parliaments*, dated 8 April 1681 (London, 1681), p. 9. The Declaration essentially repeated the arguments the King had used in his speech of 21 March at the opening of the Oxford Parliament. Charles ordered it to be read in all churches.

67. *A Just and Modest Vindication of the Proceedings of the two Last Parliaments* [London, 1681]. The pamphlet, which is reprinted in *Parl. Hist.* (iv, app. xv, cxxxiv-clxxiv) and there attributed to Sir William Jones, is sometimes attributed, wrongly I think, to Robert Ferguson. Burnet says (ii, 283) that the pamphlet "was first penned by [Algernon] Sidney," then redrafted by [John] Somers and "corrected by [Sir William] Jones." Though this "was the best writ paper in all that time" (Burnet adds), it "had no great effect." The paper is particularly acute in detecting French influence behind the King's decision to dissolve the Oxford Parliament and in providing legal justification for the actions of the Whig House of Commons.

68. On p. 143 of *Goodwin Wharton* I mistakenly (and unaccountably) said that the Berties lived at Adderbury (where Anne Wharton died on 28 Oct. 1685); whereas it was Anne's grandmother, the dowager Countess of Rochester, and Anne's uncle, the Earl, who lived at Adderbury. The Berties (who became the Earl and Countess of Abingdon) lived at Rycote.

69. One of the stipulations in the conveyance of properties to "Mr Wharton" was that £600 per year was to be reserved to Anne for "P[er]sonal mayntenance." This was to be taken from the Wharton half of the total estate and administered by trustees appointed by Anne. John Cary to Sir Ralph Verney, 11 May 1680, BL, Verney, M 636/34.

70. For the property division, see PRO, CP [Common Pleas], 25 (2)/747/33 Charles II, No. 1; Hants R. O. Normanton MSS, Box 6, Bundle 63. See also PRO, C [Chancery] 5/637/73. The properties had caused squabbles between the Whartons and the Berties before they were divided, and they were to cause more squabbles after Anne's death.

71. "I presume the writings are sealed in france before this time," John Cary wrote to Sir Ralph Verney on 18 June 1681. "You heard they were going about them about the day [10 June] that Mr [William] Baxter [rector of Rushall, Wilts.] died." BL, Verney M 636/35.

72. "I am obliged to you for the care you have taken in sending orders to Mr Herbert," Anne wrote Tom on 14/25 May, "& I have...given him a note which charges the same sum of 400*l*. upon you at London, I am so little used to business of this nature that for fear of mistaking I think fitt to acquaint you with every smale circumstance, & hope you will pardon the troble of it." Lonsdale, D/Lons/L1/4.

73. Lonsdale, D/Lons/L1/4. I have again normalized Anne's spelling and punctuation. This letter, like Anne's three previous letters to Tom, was "to be left with Mr East a Goldsmith att his shop at the signe of the sun nere Temple-Bare, London."

74. The addresses, most of them obviously solicited by the government, are published in the *London Gazette*—the first from the JPs of Middlesex (all government appointees) in No. 1609, 18-21 Apr. 1681 and the second, on 6 May, from the government stronghold of Portsmouth. These were followed by a flood of addresses. Perhaps the most significant address is that on 18 May from the lieutenantancy and the officers of the "Trained bands and Militia of the City of London." This shows that the King has brought the remodeled armed forces of the City under control.

75. For the race meeting (24,25, 26 Aug.), attended by Sir Ralph Verney and his son Edmund, see Sir Ralph to John Verney, 25 Aug. 1681, and Edmund to John Verney, 29 Aug. 1681. The attendance, Sir Ralph notes, was "not soe greate as was Expected..., but there was all the neighbouring Ladies in their Coaches." The race track at "Quainton Mead" was conveniently near to Sir Ralph's home at Middle Claydon and, of course, to Winchendon.

Abbreviations

1. List of abbreviations commonly used in the citation of book titles and of manuscripts

Add.	Additional
BL	British Library
Corr.	Correspondence
CSPD	<i>Calendar of State Papers, Domestic</i>
CTB	<i>Calendar of Treasury Books</i>
HCJ	<i>Journal of the House of Commons</i>
HEH	Henry E. Huntington Library
HLJ	<i>Journal of the House of Lords</i>
HLRO	House of Lords Record Office
HMC	Historical Manuscript Commission
HS	Harleian Society
IHCJ	<i>Journal of the House of Commons...Ireland</i>
IHLJ	<i>Journal of the House of Lords...Ireland</i>
IRO	Irish Record Office, Dublin.
MS, MSS	Manuscript, manuscripts
NLW	National Library of Wales, Aberystwyth
OED	<i>Oxford English Dictionary</i>
PL	Pepys Library, Magdalene College, Cambridge
PR	Parish Register
PRO	Public Record Office
RCHM	Royal Commission on Historical Monuments
RO	Record Office
SP	State Papers
TCD	Trinity College, Dublin
VHC	<i>Victoria History of the Counties of England</i>

2. List of Books and Manuscripts cited by Short Titles

Addison	<i>The Letters of Joseph Addison</i> , ed. Walter Graham (Oxford, 1941).
Anglesey Diary	<i>Diary of Arthur Annesley, 1st Earl of Anglesey--1675-1684</i> , BL, Add. MS 18730. (The pages are unnumbered.)

<i>Annals</i>	Abel Boyer, <i>The History of the Reign of Queen Anne, Digested into Annals</i> , 11 vols. (London, 1703-13).
Ashcraft	Richard Ashcraft, <i>Revolutionary Politics & Locke's Two Treatises of Government</i> (Princeton, 1986).
Autobiography	The Autobiography of Goodwin Wharton, BL, Add. MSS 20,006-07.
Baxter	Stephen Bartow Baxter, <i>William III and the Defense of European Liberty, 1650-1702</i> (New York, 1966).
<i>Biog. Univ.</i>	<i>Biographie Universelle, Ancienne et Moderne...</i> , 2nd edn., 45 vols. (Paris, 1843-65).
Burnet	Gilbert Burnet, <i>Bishop Burnet's History of His Own Time</i> , ed. Martin Joseph Routh, 2nd edn., 6 vols. (Oxford, 1833).
<i>Calamy Revised</i>	Arnold Gwynne Matthews, <i>Calamy Revised</i> (Oxford, 1934).
Carte	Bodleian Library, Carte MSS.
CB	<i>Complete Baronetage</i> , ed. G. E. C.[okayne], 5 vols. (Exeter, 1900-6).
Clark	Sir George Norman Clark, <i>The Later Stuarts, 1660-1714</i> , 2nd ed. (Oxford, 1955).
CP	<i>The Complete Peerage of England, Scotland, Ireland, Great Britain, and the United Kingdom</i> , ed. G. E. C.[okayne], rev. ed., 12 vols. (London, 1910-59).
Dalrymple	Sir John Dalrymple, <i>Memoirs of Great Britain and Ireland</i> , 2nd ed., 2 vols. (London, 1771-73).
Dalton	<i>English Army Lists and Commission Registers, 1661-1714</i> , ed. Charles Dalton, 6 vols. (London, 1892-1904).
<i>Danby</i>	Andrew Browning, <i>Thomas Osborne, Earl of Danby and Duke of Leeds</i> , 3 vols. (Glasgow, 1944, 1951).
DBF	<i>Dictionnaire de Biographie Française</i> , eds. J Balteau, M Barroux, M. Prévost, et al. (Paris, 1929--).

<i>DNB</i>	<i>Dictionary of National Biography.</i>
E. R. Wharton	Edward Ross Wharton, <i>The Whartons of Wharton Hall</i> (Oxford, 1898).
Evelyn	<i>The Diary of John Evelyn</i> , ed. Esmond Samuel de Beer, 6 vols. (Oxford, 1955).
<i>Goodwin Wharton</i>	J. Kent Clark, <i>Goodwin Wharton</i> (Oxford, 1984; repr., London, 1989).
Grey	Anchitell Grey, <i>Debates of the House of Commons from the Year 1667 to the Year 1694</i> , 10 vols. (London, 1763).
<i>Hatton</i>	Correspondence of the Family of Hatton, ed. Edward Maunde Thompson, 2 vols. (Westminster, 1878); Camden Society Pub., N. S., vols. xxii, xxiii.
<i>HC, 1660-90</i>	<i>The House of Commons, 1660-1690</i> , ed. Basil Duke Henning, published for History of Parliament Trust, 3 vols. (London, 1983).
Holmes	Geoffrey Shorter Holmes, <i>British Politics in the Age of Anne</i> (rev. ed., London, Ronceverte, 1987).
Hore	John Philip Hore, <i>The History of Newmarket, and the Annals of the Turf</i> , 3 vols. (Newmarket, 1885- 1886).
Japikse	<i>Correspondentie van Willem III en van Hans Willem Bentinck</i> , ed. Nicolaas Japikse, 5 vols. ('S-Gravenhage, 1927-37).
Kemeys-Tynte	NLW, Aberystwyth, Wales, Kemeys-Tynte MSS.
Kennett	White Kennett, <i>A Complete History of England</i> , 3 vols. (London, 1706).
Kenyon	John Philipps Kenyon, <i>The Popish Plot</i> (London, New York, 1972).
Langley	Thomas Langley, <i>The History and Antiquities of the Hundred of Desborough</i> (London, 1797).
Lonsdale	Cumbria RO, Carlisle, Lonsdale MSS.

Luttrell	Narcissus Luttrell, <i>A Brief Historical Relation of State Affairs from September 1678 to April 1714</i> , 6 vols. (Oxford, 1857).
Macaulay	Thomas Babington Macaulay, 1st Baron Macaulay, <i>The History of England from the Accession of James the Second</i> , ed. Sir Charles Harding Firth, 6 vols. (London, 1913-15).
Macky	John Macky, <i>Memoirs of the Secret Services of John Macky, Esq.</i> (London, 1733).
Marlborough-Godolphin	<i>The Marlborough-Godolphin Correspondence</i> , ed. Henry L. Snyder, 3 vols. (Oxford, 1975).
<i>Memoirs</i>	<i>Memoirs of the Life of the Most Noble Thomas, Late Marquess of Wharton</i> (London, 1715).
Mignet	François August Marie Alexis Mignet, <i>Négociations Relatives à la Succession d'Espagne sous Louis XIV</i> , 4 vols. (Paris, 1835-42).
NBG	<i>Nouvelle Biographie Générale...</i> , 46 vols. (Paris, 1855-67).
Ogg	David Ogg, <i>England in the Reign of Charles II</i> , 2nd ed., 2 vols. (Oxford, 1955).
<i>Old Cause</i>	John Carswell, <i>The Old Cause</i> (London, 1954).
<i>Parl. Diary</i>	<i>The Parliamentary Diary of Narcissus Luttrell, 1691-1693</i> , ed. Henry Horwitz (Oxford, 1972).
<i>Parl. Hist.</i>	<i>The Parliamentary History of England</i> , ed. William Cobbett, 36 vols. (London, 1806-20).
POAS	<i>Poems on Affairs of State, Augustan Satirical Verse, 1660-1714</i> , gen. ed., George de F. Lord, 7 vols. (New Haven, Conn., 1963-75).
<i>Pol. State</i>	Abel Boyer, <i>The Political State of Great Britain</i> 60 vols. (London, 1712-40).
Rawlinson	Bodleian Library, Rawlinson MSS.
Reresby	<i>Memoirs of Sir John Reresby</i> , ed. Andrew Browning (Glasgow, 1936).

Romney	Henry Sidney, Earl of Romney, <i>Diary of the Times of Charles the Second</i> , ed. Robert Willis Blencowe, 2 vols. (London, 1843).
Sacheverell	Geoffrey Shorter Holmes, <i>The Trial of Doctor Sacheverell</i> (London, 1973).
Shaftesbury	Kenneth Harold Dobson Haley, <i>The First Earl of Shaftesbury</i> (Oxford, 1968).
Speck	William Arthur Speck, <i>Tory and Whig, the Struggle in the Constituencies, 1601-1715</i> (London, New York, 1970).
State Trials	<i>A Complete Collection of State Trials</i> , ed. T. B. Howell, 21 vols. (London, 1811-26).
Surv. London	Greater London Council, <i>Survey of London</i> , vol. i--(London, 1900--).
Trevelyan	George Macaulay Trevelyan, <i>England Under Queen Anne</i> , 3 vols. (London, 1930-34).
Verney	Bucks. RO, and BL, microfilm collection of Verney family letters in Claydon House.
Wharton	Bodleian Library, Wharton MSS.
Wood	<i>The Life and Times of Anthony Wood, antiquary, of Oxford, 1632-1695, described by Himself</i> , ed. Andrew Clark, 5 vols. (Oxford, 1891-1900).